

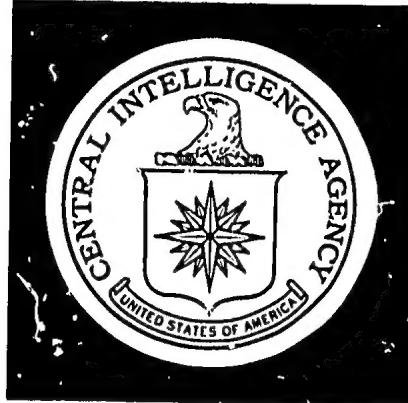
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**DIRECTORATE OF
INTELLIGENCE**

Intelligence Handbook

Forthcoming Elections in Latin America

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
Directorate of Intelligence
May 1972

INTELLIGENCE HANDBOOK

Forthcoming Elections in Latin America

Introduction

During the next five years more Latin Americans will go to the polls than ever before. Fifteen countries will hold presidential and congressional elections and, in four former British possessions, new parliamentary bodies will be elected from which prime ministers and cabinets will be chosen. The only nations not scheduling elections are Cuba, Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador.

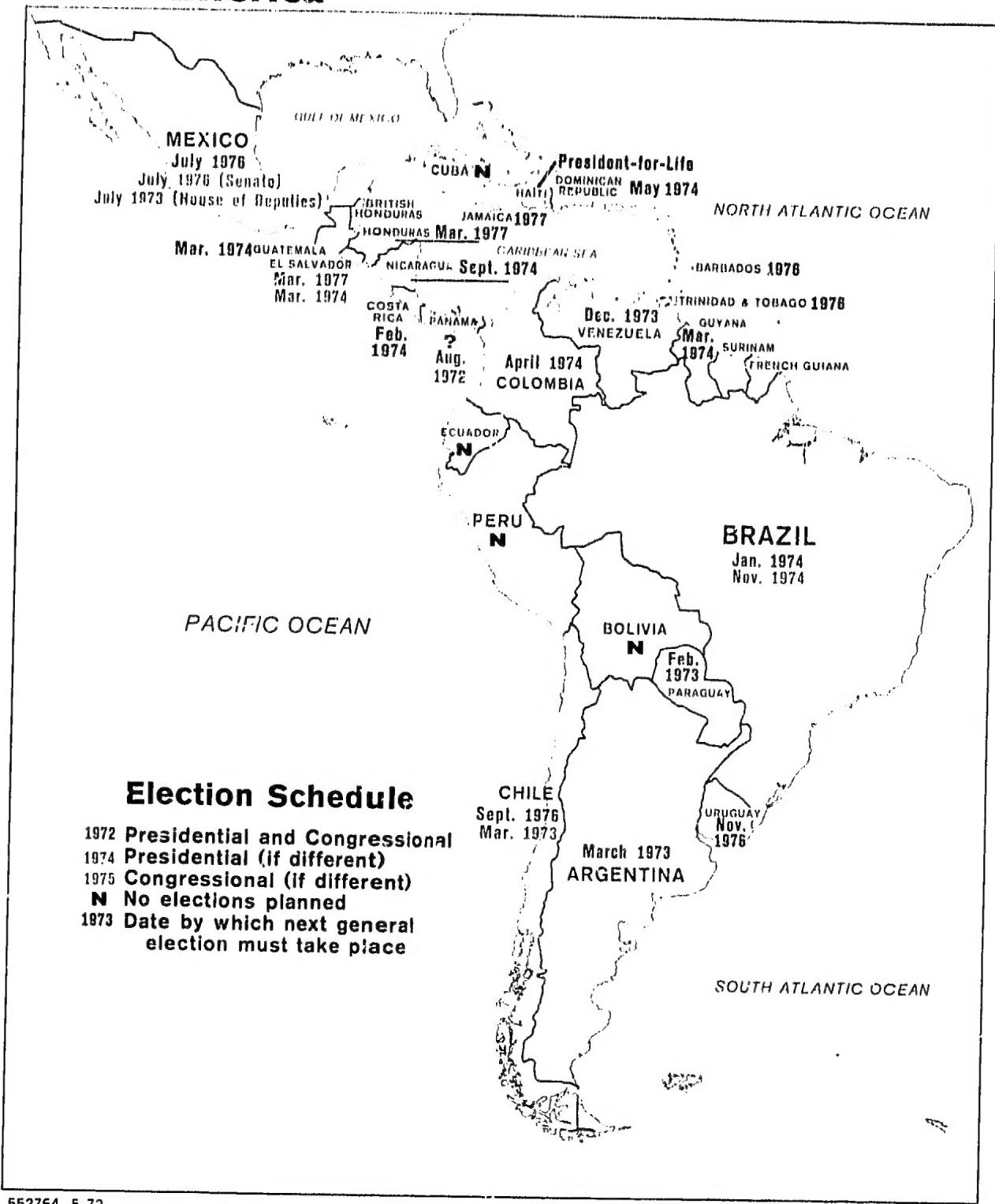
In the closest upcoming election, Panamanian voters will elect representatives to the new National Assembly in August. That body, which will be easily controlled by the Torrijos regime, will approve a draft constitution and choose a president and vice president. It is not yet known when the assembly will convene, however. No other presidential or congressional elections are scheduled this year.

Paraguay and Argentina have scheduled presidential and congressional elections in 1973. President Stroessner, who has been in power since 1954 in Paraguay, is expected to run for another five-year term in February 1973. Argentine President Lanusse has scheduled presidential and congressional elections for March, but arrangements are not final and the election timetable may be changed. In December 1973, Venezuelans will elect a president and the bicameral legislature. In addition, Chile, Mexico, and Haiti are scheduled to hold congressional elections in 1973.

Six countries have presidential elections planned for 1974. Indirect presidential elections will be held in Brazil in January. In February 1974, Costa Ricans will elect a new president and unicameral legislature. In March, Guatemala will conduct presidential and congressional elections. Colombians will vote in April for presidential and congressional candidates in the first elections since 1958 to be held outside of the National Front system. In

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Latin America



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May, voters in the Dominican Republic probably will elect President Balaguer to a third term and will select a new congress. In September 1974, Nicaragua will hold presidential and congressional elections under a new constitution. Also that year, El Salvador will elect a new unicameral legislature in March and, in November, all seats in Brazil's Chamber of Deputies and 20 Senate seats will be contested.

There is no presidential or congressional balloting scheduled for 1975, but Chile and Paraguay will hold local elections.

Three important presidential races will be held in 1976. In July, Mexico's Institutional Revolutionary Party will undoubtedly see its presidential and congressional candidates elected as usual. In September, Chilean voters will elect a successor to President Allende, and in November Uruguay is scheduled to hold presidential and congressional elections.

In March 1977, Honduras and El Salvador are scheduled to elect new presidents, and Hondurans will also select a new congress. An array of political problems in both countries, however, could interrupt present election schedules.

Guyana, Jamaica, Barbados, and Trinidad and Tobago inherited parliamentary systems of government from Great Britain. Each nation will hold general elections sometime during the next five years.

Brief discussions and data follow about presidential, congressional, and local elections in these 19 countries, as well as local elections in the British, Dutch, and French possessions in Latin America.

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	Month	Country	Presidential	Congressional	Local
1972	August	Panama	?	X	
	November	Brazil			X
1973	February	Paraguay	X	X	
	March	Argentina	X	X	
	March	Chile		X	
	July	Mexico		X	
	December	Venezuela	X	X	X
1974	January	Brazil	X		
	February	Costa Rica	X	X	X
	March	Honduras			X
	March	Guatemala	X	X	X
	March	El Salvador		X	X
	April	Colombia	X	X	X
	May	Dom. Rep.	X	X	X
	September	Nicaragua	X	X	
	November	Brazil		X	
1975	April	Chile			X
	October	Paraguay			X
1976	March	El Salvador		X	X
	April	Colombia		X	X
	July	Mexico	X	X	
	September	Chile	X		
	November	Uruguay	X	X	X
	November	Brazil			X
1977	March	Honduras	X	X	X
	March	El Salvador	X		
	March	Chile		X	
	September	Nicaragua			X

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CONFIDENTIAL**ARGENTINA**

Argentina is currently ruled by a military junta headed by army commander in chief General Alejandro Lanusse. Lanusse is the country's third military president since the ouster in June 1966 of President Arturo Illia, who was elected in 1963. President Lanusse has pledged a return to representative democracy and has scheduled national elections for 25 March 1973.

President Lanusse's first step toward these elections was to call for the reorganization of political parties, which had been banned by President Onganía in 1966. Reform of the constitution and the electoral laws is to follow. Hence, final decisions are still pending on such things as presidential and congressional terms of office. Even the method of electing the president may be reconsidered, although he probably will be directly elected by popular vote. The electoral law being studied also calls for secret, universal, and obligatory voting by all Argentines over age 18.

Parties with official recognition in at least five provinces will be permitted to run presidential candidates. The Peronists, who still make up the largest single voting bloc, apparently will be permitted to participate as a national party. They have been prohibited from functioning on a national basis since the overthrow of Juan Perón in 1955, but they were officially recognized as a national party under the Justicialist banner this year. The Radical Civic Union led by Secretary General Ricardo Balbin has also been officially recognized.

Several other smaller parties may achieve national recognition, either as individual parties or as members of electoral coalitions. Perhaps more important, however, are two multi-party political fronts. *La Hora del Pueblo*, the more moderate of the two, is composed primarily of moderate Peronists and Radicals along with adherents from other smaller parties including the Popular Conservatives, Progressive Democrats, and the Argentine Socialist Party. The more leftist *Encuentro Nacional de los Argentinos* is made up of leftist Peronists, Communists, and a sprinkling from other minor parties and independents. The *Hora* has claimed that its goal is only to pressure the government to hold elections and that it will not run candidates as a coalition. The *Encuentro Nacional*, on the other hand, may run candidates, since this is presumably the only way in which the outlawed Communist Party will be able to participate in the elections.

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The military will, of course, make the final decision on just how free the elections will be. President Lanusse is trying to reach an electoral agreement with Peron that would permit the Peronists to participate in the elections yet avoid the election of a candidate unacceptable to the military. It appears certain that the candidate elected on 25 March—or earlier if Lanusse moves the elections forward as Peron and most other politicians have demanded—will have the approval of the armed forces if he is to take office.

The last presidential elections in Argentina were held in 1963. The results of those contests are not meaningful to the forthcoming elections.

ELECTIONS

Presidential	March 1973	Terms of office, size of legislature, and election procedures are unknown.
Congressional	March 1973	

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BARBADOS

Prime Minister Errol W. Barrow has dominated the politics of Barbados since 1961. His Democratic Labor Party (DLP) is a moderate socialist organization modeled after the British Labor Party. Barrow has shown that he can implement economic and social programs while maintaining political stability. His government, however, will be under increasing pressure to spur development as the people's aspirations increase.

Barrow's party overwhelmed the opposition Barbados Labor Party (BLP) in the 9 September 1971 elections, winning 18 of the 24 House Assembly seats. This margin gave the DLP the two-thirds majority required to change the constitution. The BLP won the six remaining seats. The Barbados National Party (BNP), which had represented the commercial classes, ceased to exist shortly after the deaths of its two leaders in 1969.

ELECTIONS

House of Assembly (Leader of majority party is Prime Min- ister)	Elections must be held by 1976; sooner if the government desires.	24 members	5-year term
---------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------	-------------

ELECTION RESULTS

Election Year

Party	December 1961	November 1966*	September 1971
Democratic Labor Party (DLP)	36.3% 14 Seats	72,442 49.5% 14 Seats	53,277 57.5% 18 Seats
Barbados Labor Party (BLP)	36.8% 5 Seats	47,543 32.7% 8 Seats	39,352 42.5% 6 Seats
Barbados National Party (BNP)	22.0% 4 Seats	14,801 10.1% 2 Seats	---
Independent	4.8% 1 Seat	11,318 7.7% ---	174 Negligible ---

*In 1966 a double ballot system was used. This has since been abolished.

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CONFIDENTIAL**BRAZIL****November 1970 Congressional Election Results**

Total population	92 million
Registered voters	29 million
Votes cast	22.4 million (77%)
Valid votes cast	15.6 million (54%)

SENATE

Party	Total Vote	Percent	Seats Won
ARENA	20,524,470	44	40
MDB	13,440,875	29	6
Blank	10,199,841	21	---
Null	2,821,306	6	---

CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

ARENA	10,867,814	48	223
MDB	4,777,927	22	87
Blank	4,690,952	21	---
Null	2,098,828	9	---

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BRAZIL

The military establishment has provided the power and stability of Brazilian governments since the 1964 "revolution." The business community and the government technocracy have provided other important elements of support for the regimes. There has been broad but more passive acceptance by the bulk of the educated public

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Alongside this real power structure, the traditional political institutions—Congress, a modified political party system, and elections—have been preserved but with little relevance to the decision-making process. It is the stated intention of the government of President Emilio Medici, and probably the real intention of most of the senior military officers, to restore normal democratic processes when they consider the country ready. At the same time, however, they are reluctant to transfer power to civilian politicians because they are convinced that only a strong and stable regime can fulfill their priority goals of economic growth, national integration, and national security.

As a result, the traditional institutions and the politicians who manage them have tended to atrophy, and there are few signs of a genuine alternative political leadership on the horizon. The two legal political parties—the pro-government National Renewal Alliance (ARENA) and the opposition Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB)—have not gained broad public support.

The three presidents since 1964 have been selected by the top military hierarchy, which has then submitted each "candidate" to the congress for formal "election." In January 1974, an electoral college of all members of the federal Congress plus delegates chosen by the 22 state legislative assemblies will elect a president and vice president. The two men will almost certainly have already been designated by a consensus of top armed forces officers with the new president almost certain to be an active duty or retired army general like the incumbent and his two predecessors.

The overwhelming victory of the pro-administration ARENA candidates in the November 1970 congressional elections was a sign of at least tacit approval of the government and a recognition of the weakness of the opposition under the present rules. Only persons acceptable to the government and military officers were permitted to run, and this will almost

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certainly be true in 1974. In October 1970, Medici picked all the 22 state governors, and the state legislatures then formally ratified his choices. The 1974 gubernatorial elections apparently will be handled in the same way.

Registration and voting are obligatory for all Brazilians who are over 18 years of age and are literate, except for those who have been deprived of their political rights.

ELECTIONS

Presidential		January 1974	President and vice president	5-year term
Congressional				
	Senate	November 1974	20 of 66 seats (46 other senators were elected in Nov 70)	8-year term
	Chamber of Deputies	November 1974	All 310 seats	4-year term
Gubernatorial	Governors	November 1974	All 22 seats	5-year term
Local		November 1972	Mayors, vice-mayors, councilmen and municipalities	4-year term

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CONFIDENTIAL**BRITISH POSSESSIONS****British Honduras**

The colony has had internal self-government since 1964. There is a British-style ministerial system consisting of a premier and other ministers drawn mainly from the 18-member elected House of Representatives. Elections must be held at least every five years under a system of universal adult suffrage. The next general elections must be held by December 1974. Belize, the capital, elects a nine-man council every three years. The next election will be in December 1974.

Since 1950 the People's United Party, led by George Price, has been the dominant political group. The major opposition, the National Independence Party, headed by Philip Goldson, has never won an election. A small Black Power group, the United Black Association for Development, headed by Evan X. Hyde, was organized in 1969. It worked with the National Independence Party in the 1971 Belize city council elections in an effort to establish a viable alternative to the People's United Party. Though unsuccessful in their initial effort, the two groups may again attempt to join forces.

The major issue is independence. Both Price and his opposition realize, however, that because of Guatemala's territorial claim the nation could not survive without a security guarantee from Britain or another sponsor. Thus far no such guarantee has been forthcoming. Price and his People's United Party are likely to retain power in the foreseeable future.

British Associated States

There are six British Associated States in the Caribbean: the Leeward Islands—Antigua and St. Kitts - Nevis - Anguilla—and the Windward Islands—Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent. They have constitutions that provide for "independence in association" with Britain. The United Kingdom is responsible for defense and external affairs, and the associated states enjoy full internal self-government. Each has a constitution which provides for parliamentary government through an elected legislature, and for executive government through a premier and cabinet. The Crown is represented in each associated state by an appointed governor.

Each associated state elects members to its parliament every five years—or sooner if the government loses a vote of confidence or calls for a new election.

CONFIDENTIAL**BRITISH HONDURAS****December 1969 General Election Results**

Registered Voters	29,836
Participants	22,377 (75 percent)
Results:	

Party	Votes	House
People's United Party George Price	12,888	17
National Independence Party— Peoples Development Movement Coalition Philip Goldson	8,910	1
Independents	102	
Void	477	

Facts on December 1971 Belize City Council Elections

Party	% of Vote	Council Seats
People's United Party	61%	9
National Independence Party— United Black Association for Development Coalition	37%	0
Independents	2%	0

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Antigua:

21-member elected House of Representatives. Next election must take place by 1976.

Major Political Parties and Leaders:

Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), George Herbert Walter
Antigua Labor Party (ALP), Vere C. Bird

Results of 11 February 1971 Election:

Progressive Labor Movement: 13 seats
Antigua Labor Party : 4 seats
Other: 4 seats

St. Kitts (St. Christopher) - Nevis - Anguilla:

10-member elected House of Assembly. Next election must take place by 1976.

Major Political Parties and Leaders:

St. Christopher - Nevis - Anguilla Labor Party, Robert L. Bradshaw
People's Action Movement (PAM), William Herbert
Nevis Reformation Party (NFP), Igor Stevens

Results of 10 May 1971 Election:

St. Christopher - Nevis - Anguilla Labor Party: 7 seats
(One seat not contested)

Dominica:

11-member elected House of Assembly. Next election must be held by 1975.

Major Political Parties and Leaders:

Dominica Labor Party (DLP), Edward O. LeBlanc
Dominica Freedom Party (DFP), M. Eugenia Charles

Results of October 1970 Election:

Dominica Labor Party: 8 seats
Dominica Freedom Party: 2 seats
Independent: 1 seat

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Grenada:

15-member elected House of Representatives. Last election was held on 28 February 1972.

Major Political Parties and Leaders:

Grenada United Labor Party (GULP), Eric Matthew Gairy
Grenada National Party (GNP), Herbert A. Blaize

Results of 28 February 1972 Election:

Grenada United Labor Party: 13 seats
Grenada National Party: 2 seats

St. Lucia:

10-member elected House of Assembly. Next election must be held by 1974.

Major Political Parties and Leaders:

United Worker's Party (UWP), John Compton
St. Lucia Labor Party (SLP), Martin Jean Baptiste
St. Lucia Labor Party United Front (LPUF), George Charles

Results of April 1969 Election:

United Worker's Party: 6 seats
St. Lucia Labor Party: 3 seats
St. Lucia Labor Party United Front: 1 seat

St. Vincent:

13-member elected House of Assembly, expanded from 9 seats. Next election must be held by 1977.

Major Political Parties and Leaders:

St. Vincent Labor Party (LP), Milton Cato
People's Progressive Party (PPP), Ebenezer Joshua

Results of 7 April 1972 Election:

St. Vincent Labor Party: 6 seats
People's Progressive Party: 6 seats
Independent: 1 seat

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Montserrat:

Montserrat is a British colony with limited self-government. A seven-member Legislative Council is elected every five years—or if the government loses a vote of confidence or calls for new elections. The next election must be held by 1975.

Major Political Parties and Leaders:

Progressive Democratic Party (PDP), P. Austin Bramble

Montserrat Labor Party (MLP), William Bramble (father of P. Austin Bramble)

Montserrat Worker's Progressive Party (MWPP), George Edwards

Results of 15 December 1970 Elections:

Progressive Democratic Party: 7 seats

British Virgin Islands:

The islands are a British colony with limited self-government. A seven-member Legislative Council is elected every five years—or if the government loses a vote of confidence or calls for new elections. The next election must be held by 1976.

Major Political Parties and Leaders:

Virgin Islands Party, H. Lavity Stoutt

Democratic Party, Dr. Q. W. Osborne

United Party, Dr. Conrad Maduro

Results of the 2 June 1971 Elections:

Democratic Party: 3 seats

Virgin Islands Party: 2 seats

United Party: 1 seat

Independent: 1 seat

Bermuda Islands:

Bermuda is a British colony with limited self-government. A 40-member House of Assembly is elected every five years, or if the government loses a vote of confidence or calls for new elections. The next election must be held by 1973.

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Major Political Parties and Leaders:

United Bermuda Party (UBP), Sir Henry Tucker
Progressive Labor Party (PLP), Lois Browne-Evans
Bermuda Democratic Labor Party (BDP), Arnold A. Francis and Charles W. Mayne

Results of May 1968 Election:

United Bermuda Party: 30 seats
Progressive Labor Party: 10 seats

The Bahama Islands:

The Commonwealth of the Bahama Islands is a British territory with a ministerial system of internal self-government and a bicameral legislature. It is due to receive full independence in the near future. The commonwealth elects a 38-member House of Assembly every five years, or if the government loses a vote of confidence or calls for new elections. The next election must be held by 1973.

Major Political Parties and Leaders:

Progressive Liberal Party (PLP), Lynden O. Pindling
Free National Movement (FNM), Cecil Wallace Whitefield

Results of 10 April 1968 Election:

Progressive Liberal Party (7 dissident PLP members joined FNM): 29 seats
United Bahamian Party (Later merged with Labor Party to form FNM): 7 seats
Labor Party (Later merged with United Bahamian Party to form FNM): 1 seat
Independent: 1 seat

ELECTIONS

British Honduras, the six British Associated States in the Caribbean, Montserrat, the British Virgin Islands, Bermuda, and the Bahama Islands have various degrees of internal autonomy. Citizens vote for local officials.

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CONFIDENTIAL**CHILE**

The principal issue in the 1976 presidential election, and in the intervening congressional and municipal elections, will be the performance of the Allende administration. Both the government coalition (popular unity) and the opposition tend to view any recourse to popular balloting as a plebiscite. Government forces, however, can be expected to de-emphasize the plebiscite value of these elections if the government's share of the popular vote remains below 50 percent.

As the principal opposition—the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) and the National Party (PN)—continues jointly or separately to obstruct the government's effort to build a socialist society within the Chilean constitutional system, Allende will become increasingly interested in altering that system to better meet his goal. In this regard, as the congressional election of 1973 approaches, his Popular Unity (UP) coalition may experiment with forming a single government party, or at least a unified government front, to increase its legislative leverage through Chile's complex proportional representation system. The opposition would have to establish a single party or front of its own to stalemate such a move by the UP. Although the disparate elements of the government coalition are unlikely to get together in this manner, it may be even more unlikely that such long-time antagonists as the PDC and PN could do so. The initiative, however, rests with the UP.

The major issues in the presidential election of 1976 are likely to be defined by the municipal elections that precede it by 17 months. The likelihood of continuing party splits, particularly within government ranks, will probably make these 1975 elections more nearly a plebiscite on Allende's programs than the 1973 congressional vote. As Allende cannot legally succeed himself as president, the UP will have the opportunity to shift gears with another candidate—perhaps one who is not even a Marxist. The many elements that make up Allende's support, although in some ways inhibiting the smooth flow of government action represent considerable flexibility for the UP in the next presidential election. This can be expected to rob the opposition of some of the thrust of its campaign.

The government parties can be expected to select another presidential candidate for 1976 with reasonable consensus. If Allende should die, resign, or otherwise cease to be an element of Chilean politics during his term, however, the picture would be quite different. His legal successor, the

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CONFIDENTIAL**CHILE****April 1971 Municipal Election Results**

Registered voters	3,792,682		
Participating voters	2,809,958 (74.1%)		
Results:			
Party	Total Vote	Percentages	
Socialist Party (PS) ¹	631,939	22.4	
Communist Party (PCCh) ¹	479,206	17.0	
Radical Party (PR) ¹	225,851	8.0	
Social Democratic Party (PSD) ¹	38,067	1.3	48.7 ²
Popular Socialist Union (USP) ³	29,123	1.0	49.7 ⁴
Christian Democratic Party (PDC)	723,623	25.6	
National Party (PN)	511,669	18.1	
Democratic Radical Party (PRD)	108,192	3.8	
National Democratic Party (PADENA)	13,435	0.5	
Independents	23,907	0.9	48.9 ⁵
Null and blank votes	24,946	1.0	1.0
Total	2,809,958	99.6⁶	99.6⁶

1. Popular Unity (UP) coalition
2. UP total
3. Not a UP member, but voted with UP
4. Total of UP plus USP
5. Opposition total
6. Does not total 100.0 due to rounding

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minister of interior, whoever he might be at the time, would have vastly less support within the government than Allende. As a consequence, the Socialists, Communists, Radicals, and to a lesser extent, the other elements of the government, could be expected to diverge and thus enhance the opposition's standing in any ensuing election.

ELECTIONS				
Presidential		September 1976	President	6-year term
Congressional	Senate	March 1973	25 of 50 seats	8-year term
	Chamber of Deputies	March 1973	All 150 seats	4-year term
Local		April 1975	Municipal councilmen	

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CONFIDENTIAL**COLOMBIA****1970 General Election Results****Presidential**

Misael Pastrana	1,625,025
Gustavo Rojas Pinilla	1,561,468
Belisario Betancur	471,350
Evaristo Sourdís	336,286

Senate

	Liberal	Liberal Indep	Conservative	Total
Pastrana	37	2	18	57
Rojas	12		26	38
Betancur	3		9	12
Sourdís	5		6	11
				118

Chamber

Pastrana	59	4	31	94
Rojas	28		44	72
Betancur	6		18	24
Sourdís	8		12	20
				210

Only 4,028,259 persons voted in 1970, about 50 percent of those eligible.

For the April 1972 elections there are 8,887,500 eligible voters. Between 30 and 40 percent were expected to vote.

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CONFIDENTIAL**COLOMBIA**

Since 1958, Colombia has had a unique and artificial electoral and governmental system known as the National Front, based on the principles of alternation and parity. It was drawn up by the Liberal and Conservative parties as a means of ending their intense antagonisms by removing competition between them for a set period of time and was subsequently ratified by a national plebiscite in December 1957. The Front concept has been modified several times, but as it now stands, the 1970 presidential elections were the last under the system. For the four terms encompassed by the National Front, the presidency alternated between the Liberals and Conservatives with each presidential hopeful receiving prior approval of conventions of both parties; he was then considered the official candidate. In practice, factions within the two parties sometimes ran their own candidates. Moreover, even opposition parties, terming themselves "liberal" or "conservative," have been able to participate in elections. For example, the National Popular Alliance (ANAPO) of ex-dictator Gustavo Rojas Pinilla created two wings, enabling it to run candidates under either banner.

The parity principle divided the seats of the two houses of the National Congress equally between the Liberals and Conservatives, but did not prevent factions or opposing groups from gaining seats under one or the other party label. Members of the national legislature are chosen within the departments by list under a system of proportional representation. The last scheduled congressional elections using parity were in April 1970. Parity also applied to elective offices at the departmental and local levels until 1970, when the principle was dropped and these elections opened to all. In addition, appointive positions at all levels of government are divided equally between the two parties. This provision for the cabinet and other high positions has been extended through 1978.

ELECTIONS				
Presidential		April 1974	President	4-year term
Congressional	Senate	April 1974	All 118 seats	4-year term
	Chamber of Deputies	April 1974	All 210 seats	2-year term
Local	Municipal Councils	April 1974	All 922 seats	2-year term
	Provincial Councils	April 1974	All 4 seats	2-year term
	Departmental Assemblies	April 1974	All 22 seats	2-year term

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COSTA RICA

1970 National Election Results

	Registered voters	675,285	
	Participants	562,766	
Party	Presidential Votes	Election Percent	Seats in Legislature
National Liberation Party (PLN) (Jose Figueres Ferrer)	295,883	55	32
National Unification (UN) (Mario Echandi Jimenez)	222,372	41.1	22
Christian Democratic Party (PDC) (Jorge Monge Zamora)	5,015	0.9	1
Third Front (PFN)	9,554	1.7	0
Socialist Action Party (PASO)	7,221	.3	2
Total	100.0		57

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CONFIDENTIAL**COSTA RICA**

In each of the last five elections, the party in power lost its bid for re-election. Whether this trend will continue in 1974 will depend on the ability of the highly fragmented opposition to unite behind a single candidate. The National Liberation Front (PLN), the party now in power, has long been the major political force and has suffered defeat only when opposition parties united in a strong coalition. President Jose Figueres is constitutionally prohibited from running for re-election, but will probably influence to a large degree the selection of the PLN presidential candidate.

The issues that probably will dominate the 1974 elections are President Figueres' lackluster performance as an administrator and his dealings with the Communists. Figueres has proved to be quite adroit at public relations but inept as an executive. His administration's failure by mid-term to move forward with any coherent program for economic and social development has disillusioned much of the electorate. Unless some progress is made in this field, the PLN will face an uphill battle to retain the presidency.

Many Costa Ricans, especially militant right-wing elements, have been dismayed by Figueres' relationship with the Communists. The administration has signed agreements for increased trade and cultural exchanges with the USSR and has accredited a Soviet embassy in San Jose. Anti-Communist groups, using this as proof of Figueres' coziness with the Communists, have mounted a vigorous campaign against the President, and the issue is likely to remain through the 1974 elections.

ELECTIONS

Presidential	February 1974	President and vice president	4-year term
Congressional	February 1974	All 57 seats in the Legislative Assembly	4-year term
Local	February 1974	Municipal authorities—governors and mayors appointed	4-year term

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DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

May 1970 National Election Results

Eligible Voters	1,900,000 (est.)					
Participants	1,159,841 (61 percent)					
Results:	Total Vote	Percent	Senate	Percent	Chamber	Percent
Party						
Reformist Party (PR)	655,705	56.5	26	96	60	81
Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD)	Abstained		Abstained		Abstained	
Revolutionary Social Christian Party (PRSC)	58,949	5.1				
Democratic Integration Movement (MIDA)	240,557	20.8	1	4	11	15
Democratic Quisqueyan Party (PQD)	153,591	13.2			3	4
National Conciliation Movement (MCN)	51,039	4.4				
TOTAL	1,159,841	100.0	27	100	74	100.0

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CONFIDENTIAL**DOMINICAN REPUBLIC**

Personalities, not parties or issues, dominate the limited Dominican experience with free elections. In the 1966 campaign a scant year after the civil war and foreign military intervention of April 1965, Joaquin Balaguer persuaded the electorate that he could bring political stability, economic recovery, and socioeconomic progress. He swamped his main opponent, former president Juan Bosch whose seven-month administration was overthrown in 1963 and, in his first term, made good his promise to bring about political stability and economic recovery from the civil war.

In the hectic 1970 campaign, President Balaguer ignored opposition charges of *continuismo*—that his re-election would be a reversion to "Trujilloism." Bosch's Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) abstained, the other opposition groups threatened to withdraw, and 60 lives were lost in election-related violence. Although Balaguer won by 100,000 fewer votes than in 1966, he got 56 percent of the total vote and his supporters won 26 of the 27 Senate seats, 60 of the 74 deputy seats, and 75 of 77 mayoralties.

The next general election is scheduled for May 1974. President Balaguer is expected to run for a third term and his prospects are excellent. Bosch is the only Dominican political figure whose national stature approaches that of the President, but he is not a serious challenge. Opposition parties, except for the PRD, are in decay and disarray. The PRD's organization, large membership, and distinctive if ill-defined ideology distinguish it as a genuine political party; but it is not of itself a threat to Balaguer's chances.

Issues will be secondary, *continuismo* will again figure, but tolerance of political parties, press freedom, economic expansion, and the President's newly announced interest in economic reform, together with the lack of a strong opponent, will work in Balaguer's favor. The radical extremist presence has been all but eliminated. Lacking a target, the new, moderate policies instituted by the current police chief, General Neit Nivar Seijas, should remain in force, thereby diminishing government counter-terror as an election issue.

The impressive economic recovery under Balaguer may take on a new dimension if legislation proposed by the President and designed specifically to help the poor is put into effect. While some interpret the reform proposals as merely a cynical bid to make re-election more palatable, their practicality should reinforce peasant support and their scope should not provoke over-reaction from the landowning conservatives, who are in any case a politically

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weak force. The right or the left may, however, stimulate agitation over the reform issue.

Voting is obligatory for all Dominicans over 18 years of age and for all married citizens regardless of age, except for members of the armed forces and police, who are forbidden to vote. Election results are determined by simple plurality for president, senators, and mayors. Proportional representation determines the allocation of seats in the Chamber of Deputies and the municipal councils.

ELECTIONS

Presidential		May 1974	President and vice president	4-year term
Congressional	Senate	May 1974	All 27 seats	4-year term
	Chamber of Deputies	May 1974	All 74 seats	4-year term
Local	Mayoralties	May 1974	All 77 mayors	4-year term

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CONFIDENTIAL**DUTCH POSSESSIONS****Netherlands Antilles**

Under the Charter of 1954, which serves as the constitution, the Netherlands Antilles has a parliamentary form of government with complete domestic autonomy, including the right to amend or revise its Charter. Control over foreign policy and defense is vested in the Council of Ministers at The Hague.

The Governor, appointed by the Crown, is chief of state and nominal head of the government, but principal executive power lies with the minister-president and the other members of the Council of Ministers (cabinet). They are appointed by the Governor with the advice and approval of the unicameral Staten.

From the beginnings of the autonomous government in 1954 until the riots in Curacao in May 1969, which caused the resignation of the government, the Staten was controlled by the Democratic Party. Since then several new parties have been formed, and although the Democratic Party is still important, it is no longer predominant. Therefore, governments have been formed with broader coalitions. Although the recent coalition governments have been subject to fairly frequent change as the individual parties vie for position, the multiplicity of parties makes it possible for most local views to be discussed. Parties tend to form along racial lines, either Creole or East Indian, but race is not yet a major political issue.

All those of Dutch nationality who are at least 23 years old and are residents of the Netherlands Antilles can vote. Criminals and lunatics are disqualified.

Surinam

Surinam—formerly Dutch Guiana—was granted informal autonomy in 1954 and has been governed since then by moderate coalitions of political parties representing various ethnic groups. There are three branches of government: The Governor, appointed by the Crown, who performs a largely ceremonial role as chief of state; the Staten, a unicameral parliament, which makes all domestic laws and has the right to amend the Constitution; and a Council of Ministers (cabinet) which is responsible to the Staten and has executive power. The 13-member council is currently headed by Minister-President Jules Sedney.

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Political life in Surinam is divided along racial lines. Up to now the blacks and East Indians have lived together with only minor racial disturbances, but tensions are increasing as the more numerous East Indians begin to move from the rural areas into the cities where the blacks are concentrated. This is clearly the most ominous national problem.

Legislative elections in October 1969 resulted in a coalition government of the East Indian United Hindu Party (VHP) and the black-dominated National Progressive Party (PNP). Together they control 27 of the 39 seats in the Staten. Although the VHP won 18 seats, its leader, Jagernath Lachmon, declined to seek the minister-presidency or a cabinet position, preferring instead to remain as a power behind the scenes. He supported the appointment of Jules Sedney, the black leader of the PNP, as minister-president. Although the blacks are increasingly a minority group, they are still a majority in the legislature and control the levers of political power. Current political relationships are not very firm, Sedney's grip on power is not secure, and further shifts in political alignment are likely.

Suffrage is now granted all citizens when they turn 23, except criminals and the insane.

ELECTIONS**Netherlands Antilles**

Aruba, Curacao, Bonaire, and the Windward Island group elect a 22-member unicameral Staten. Elections must be held every four years or when the government loses a vote of confidence. The next election must be held by September 1973.

Surinam

Elections for the 39 seats in the unicameral Staten are held at least every four years or when the government loses a vote of confidence or calls for new elections. The next general election must be held by October 1973.

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EL SALVADOR

The major issues in the 1974 congressional campaign will be the government's performance in the fields of socioeconomic reform, public order, and electoral freedom. The governing National Conciliation Party (PCN) is a middle-of-the-road, reform-minded party with military backing. Its domestic program is not significantly different from that of the major opposition, the Christian Democratic Party (PDC). The latter, however, insists that the PCN has not done enough.

Opposition elements on the right will oppose most agrarian reform proposals and drastic changes in rural labor organization. The PCN might be able to counterbalance some rightist criticism if the economy, especially the coffee sector, appears healthy.

Public order, and in particular the handling of radical university students, will also be an issue. The PDC will probably criticize a tough policy as repression, and rightists will accuse the government of being too lenient.

On the issue of electoral honesty, the government probably will be criticized for rigging the outcome of the elections in February and March 1972. Having built up the opposition's confidence in the honesty of the electoral process during the last four or five elections, in March 1972 the government gave every indication that it will cheat when the race is close. Opposition parties, especially the PDC which feels it did much better than the official results indicated, will not let the issue of electoral fraud be swept under the rug.

All citizens 18 and over may vote.

ELECTIONS				
Presidential		March 1977	President and vice president	5-year term
Congressional	Legislative Assembly	March 1974	All 52 seats	2-year term
Local	Municipal councils	March 1974	All 261 seats	2-year term

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CONFIDENTIAL**EL SALVADOR****1972 Election Results**

Registered Voters 1,119,000

Presidential Election, 20 February 1972

Party	Vote	Percent
National Conciliation Party (PCN)	334,600	43.4
National Opposition Union (UNO) (a coalition of PDC and two mini-parties)	324,756	42.1
Independent Democratic United Front (FUDI)	94,367	12.3
Salvadoran Popular Party (PPS)	16,871	2.2
Total participation	770,594	100.0*

Legislative and Municipal Elections, 12 March 1972

Party	Legislative Seats	Municipal Gov'ts
PCN	39	243
UNO	8	17
PPS	4	1
FUDI	1	0
Total	52	261

69 percent of registered voters*CONFIDENTIAL**

CONFIDENTIAL**FRENCH POSSESSIONS**

Martinique, Guadeloupe, and French Guiana are overseas departments of France and, as such, are integral parts of the French nation. All three participate in French national elections—President, National Assembly, and Senate—as well as departmental and local elections.

Members of the General Councils of Martinique, Guadeloupe, and French Guiana are elected for six-year terms with half the membership renewed approximately every three years. These councils perform a limited legislative function on departmental matters. The councils of Martinique and Guadeloupe each have 36 members and the council in French Guiana has 16. The last General Council elections took place in March 1970. Elections for the municipal councils in the three departments, as in the metropole, are held every six years. The last were held in March 1971.

The central political issue in each department is the question of autonomy. As it is, the results of departmental elections have little impact on policy decisions affecting the overseas departments. Virtually all of these decisions are made in Paris. Most of the departmental parties are associated to some extent with the national parties of the metropole. There are also several local organizations.

The three major parties of Martinique are the Gaullist Union of Democrats for the Republic (UDR), the Communist Party of Martinique (PCM), and the Progressive Party of Martinique (PPM). The conservative UDR is the strongest and normally has been able to obtain the greatest number of votes in recent elections. The PPM is a moderate-left organization which favors autonomy. The PCM also supports autonomy, but is the weakest of the three parties and has been able to obtain only 20 percent of the vote in recent elections.

The two major political parties in Guadeloupe are associated with their counterparts in the metropole. The Communist Party of Guadeloupe (PCG) is the stronger and usually receives about 40 percent of the vote. The PCG favors autonomy for the department. The conservative Union of Guadeloupean Democrats for the Republic (UDG), finishes second to the PCG in most elections.

There are two major parties in French Guiana. The Socialist Party of Guiana (PSG) is a local organization. This party in recent elections has steadily increased its electoral support. The other is the Union of Democrats for the Republic (UDR), which is linked to its parent organization in the metropole.

ELECTIONS

Martinique, Guadeloupe, and French Guiana are overseas departments of France. Citizens vote in French presidential and congressional elections, and elect their own local officials.

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GUATEMALA ELECTIONS

Presidential	March 1974	President and vice president	4-year term
Congressional	March 1974	55 seats	4-year term
Local	March 1974	Municipal authorities	4-year term

March 1970 Presidential and Congressional Election Results

Eligible Voters	2,339,625
Registered Voters	1,134,075
Participants	546,288 (48.1 percent)

Presidential Candidate	Votes	Party	Congressional Seats
Carlos Arana Osorio	234,625	National Liberation Movement—Democratic Institutional Party Coalition	37
Mario Fuentes Pieruccini	194,798	Revolutionary Party	17
Jorge Lucas Caballeros	116,865	Christian Democrats	1

CONFIDENTIAL**GUATEMALA**

The government's handling of the security problem and its efforts to reduce the level of violence and criminality will be among the major issues in the general elections scheduled for March 1974. President Arana's record in social reform and economic development will also figure prominently although his treatment of these matters is very much in line with what the opposition would have been unlikely to have done.

With elections two years away, electoral maneuvering rather than policy issues now occupies center stage. Relations among the political parties may be somewhat unstable.

The strongest party on the political right is the National Liberation Movement headed by Mario Sandoval, president of the Guatemalan Congress. This party developed from the anti-revolutionary "liberation" coup of Castillo Armas in 1954. Also on the right, the Democratic Institutional Party is a contrived organization originally set up for the 1966 election by the military regime that ruled from 1963 to 1966. These two parties formed a coalition to elect President Arana and now control the government. Mario Sandoval has presidential ambitions and may seek to perpetuate the coalition, which may find itself under increasing strains as elections approach.

The centrist Revolutionary Party, in power from 1966 to 1970, has just come through a bruising leadership fight. The new secretary general, Carlos Sagastume, is reportedly a friend of Sandoval and might try for a center-right unity front. Countervailing pressures, however, are more likely to push Sagastume to form an opposition coalition with the Christian Democrats headed by Danillo Barillas and Rene de Leon Schlotter.

In any case, Guatemala's commitment to democratic processes is still rather tenuous. There are already rumors that Arana may seek to extend his term unconstitutionally. This possibility is likely to be a subject of much concern during the next two years.

The president, the entire congress and the mayors of Guatemala City, the department capitals, and municipalities with over 30,000 inhabitants are elected every four years. All other municipalities elect their mayors every two years. Voting is obligatory for all literate citizens 18 years or older, optional for illiterates.

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CONFIDENTIAL**GUYANA ELECTIONS**

House of Assembly (Leader of majority party is Prime Min- ister)	Elections must be held by March 1974; government can call for earlier vote	53 members	5-year term
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1968 General Election Results

Party	1968
People's National Congress (PNC) (Forbes Burnham)	30 seats (50.7 percent) raised to 55.8 percent when the overseas vote was added
People's Progressive Party (PPP) (Cheddi Jagan)	19 seats (36.5 percent)
United Force Party (UF)	4 seats (7.4 percent)
Other	--- (0.3 percent)

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CONFIDENTIAL**GUYANA**

The two major parties in Guyana are Prime Minister Forbes Burnham's governing People's National Congress (PNC) and the opposition People's Progressive Party (PPP) led by Cheddi Jagan. The PNC membership is predominantly Negro, while the PPP draws the majority of its support from East Indians. Party loyalties have been drawn on racial lines since the 1961 elections. The electoral system then in effect divided the country into districts and gave the advantage to the PPP because PNC supporters were largely concentrated in a smaller number of districts.

Following the 1961 general election, won by the PPP, racial antagonism deepened and on occasion flared into violence. In 1963 the British instituted a system of proportional representation in an effort to end the disorders and prevent Jagan from being in power when the country achieved independence. Although the PPP increased its electoral strength in 1964, its parliamentary strength dropped sharply. Unable to win a majority, Burnham formed a short-lived coalition with the now defunct, conservative United Force Party (UF). The coalition lasted until the 1968 election, in which the PNC won an absolute majority.

Burnham's impressive electoral margin arose largely from regulations which favored the PNC (overseas voting and increased use of proxies) and from a political campaign which far exceeded the combined efforts of the PPP and the UF. It also appears that Burnham used his party's control of the electoral machinery to his advantage. Thus the Burnham victory of 1968 represented a triumph of electoral manipulation as well as a vindication of the moderate and progressive policies of his administration.

The next general election must be held before March 1974. There is little doubt that Burnham will remain in power. The East Indian leadership, however, has become increasingly pessimistic about its chances of success by peaceful electoral means. This growing frustration may increase the temptation to initiate a program of armed struggle, which Jagan has stated is historically inevitable in Guyana.

Guyana has universal suffrage for citizens 21 years of age and older.

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CONFIDENTIAL**HAITI**

The Haitian Constitution, as amended on 14 January 1971 by the Legislative Chamber at the urgent request of Francois Duvalier, late President-for-Life of Haiti, permits the president to designate his successor and seek approval in a popular referendum. In accordance with these provisions, Duvalier designated his son Jean-Claude Duvalier to succeed him as president-for-life. A referendum on 31 January 1971 overwhelmingly approved the choice.

Francois Duvalier died on 21 April 1971, and his successor was immediately sworn in. The younger Duvalier is 20 years old.

The collegial government he nominally heads includes cabinet ministers and military officers who were close collaborators with his father through most of his 14-year reign. It has functioned with unexpected smoothness for nearly a year and the emergence of Luckner Cambronne, minister of interior and defense, as the most powerful member of the collegium has not provoked discernible discontent. Should members of the collegium fall out, the conflict would not be resolved by elections.

The term of office of a deputy to the Legislative Chamber is six years. Elections were last held in January 1967. All the candidates were members of the National Unity Party, the only legal party in Haiti. The term of the current deputies expires in January 1973. According to the Constitution, the President must convoke the Primary Assemblies (that is, the electorate) in each Commune on the second Sunday in February to elect members of the Legislative Chamber and Communal Councils. The amended Constitution lowered the voting age from 21 to 18. It also empowers the President to dissolve the Chamber in case of grave conflict between the legislative and the executive. Elections must be held within three months of publication of the decree of dissolution.

Constitutional provisions to ensure representative elections are irrelevant to actual practice, however. Fraud and coercion have characterized most Haitian elections and, when the constitution inconveniences the executive, it is amended to conform to his wishes, or ignored.

CONFIDENTIAL

HONDURAS

March 1971 Election Results

Eligible Voters 1,200,000 (citizens 18 years of age and over)

Registered Voters 900,658

Participants 614,007 (68.17 percent)

Results:

Party	Total Vote	Percent	Municipal Govt's
National Party (Ramon Ernesto Cruz, presidential candidate)	306,028	52.47	188
Liberal Party (Jorge Bueso Arias, presidential candidate)	276,777	47.53	94
Total valid vote	582,805	100.00	282
Null and blank ballots	31,202		
Total participation	614,007		

Next Scheduled Elections

Municipal	March 1974
Presidential, Legislative, and Municipal	March 1977

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HONDURAS

Although presidential and congressional elections are scheduled in 1977, there is no guarantee that they will be held. The primitive state of Honduran politics and the character of the two major parties (mutually antagonistic and unresponsive to the needs of the country) indicate that, as in the past, the major issue will be the desire of the "outs" to change places with the "ins" and the equally strong desire of the "ins" to hold on to power.

The factor that casts doubt on the projected electoral schedule is the shaky foundation of the present government and the consequent likelihood of a military coup within the coming year. The incumbent "national unity" government is constructed upon a division of spoils agreed to by the two parties prior to the March 1971 elections. The President and the municipal governments were elected by popular vote; the unicameral legislature of 64 deputies was divided equally between the two parties, as were the non-elective positions in the civil and foreign service, the judiciary, and the cabinet.

With strong leadership and some measure of cooperation by the parties, the "unity" government might have been a factor for stability; both conditions, however, are lacking. Elderly President Cruz has been a feeble referee in the bickering that has enveloped the government since his inauguration in June 1971. No discernible progress has been made toward solving the country's many problems, and most sectors of society are convinced that Cruz must be replaced. Many observers believe that the former president, General Oswaldo Lopez (now chief of the armed forces), who engineered the "unity" pact, did so with the expectation that it would not work and that he would be invited to resume control of the government.

Honduras grants suffrage to citizens 18 and older.

ELECTIONS			
Presidential	March 1977	President and 3 vice presidents	6-year term
Congressional	March 1977	64 seats	6-year term
Local	March 1974		3-year term

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CONFIDENTIAL**JAMAICA****General Election Results (1962-72)**

Party	Election Year		
	1962	1967	1972
People's National Party (PNP)			
Vote received	275,631	215,265	267,660
Percentage	48.6	49.4	56.5
Seats won	19	20	37
Jamaica Labor Party (JLP)			
Vote received	287,847	219,524	204,547
Percentage	50.6	50.4	43.2
Seats won	26	33	16

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CONFIDENTIAL**JAMAICA**

Since universal suffrage was granted in 1944, political life has revolved around the People's National Party (PNP) and the Jamaica labor Party (JLP). No third party has become important, and independents have not captured a seat in the House since 1949. Both parties follow relatively moderate policies. The two have been dominated by highly charismatic leaders since their founding, and both are based on nationwide trade unions.

The PNP, under the leadership of Michael Manley, defeated the incumbent (since 1962) JLP in the general election of 29 February 1972. With the victory, Manley replaced Hugh Shearer of the JLP as prime minister. Issues in the election centered on unemployment, inflation, and law and order. The PNP also campaigned on the "need for a change."

Local parish councils are elected every three years. Given the strong PNP showing in the recent general election and the probable lowering of the voting age to 18, the PNP may win control of as many as two thirds of the parish councils when elections are held in the next few months.

ELECTIONS

House of Representatives (Leader of the majority party is Prime Minister)	Elections must be held by 1977; government can call for earlier vote	53 members	5-year term
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CONFIDENTIAL**MEXICO****1970 Presidential and Congressional Election Results**

Eligible Voters 24,000,000 (est.)

Registered Voters 21,600,000 (Claimed)

Participants (Presidential contest) 14,027,816 (64.3%)

Party	Votes	Percent	Percent Ch. of Dep.	Sen.
Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)	11,923,746	85.8	83.3	84.4
National Action Party (PAN)	1,945,391	14.0	14.1	14.5
Popular Socialist Party (PPS)	no candidate		1.4	1.1
Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution (PARM)	no candidate		0.8	0

The Institutional Revolutionary Party captured all 178 seats in the Chamber of Deputies and all 60 seats in the Senate. Proportional representation seats were given to the other three parties: 20 to the PAN, 10 to the PPS, and 5 to the PARM.

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CONFIDENTIAL**MEXICO**

Mexico remains a one-party state with power monopolized by the Institutional Revolutionary Party, which has ruled for over 40 years. President Echeverria, in office since December 1970, has promised social and economic reforms and a "democratic opening" of the rigid political system. Social issues are generating considerable debate and strains within the ruling party. Big business and entrenched political bosses can be expected to resist reforms that might erode their power. Echeverria will be trying to reach his goals without alienating the business community or the party establishment to which he owes his election.

The President is seriously interested in distributing Mexico's wealth more equitably and has attempted to establish an image of himself as a vigorous, activist leader. So far, however, he has done little to democratize Mexican political life. He has made so many promises, in fact, that he will be hard pressed to fulfill many of them to any substantial degree. Thus he has knowingly raised the expectations of the credulous and the hopeful. Even the cynical, who have heard the same kind of promises before, will be more disillusioned. Echeverria's successor will have to cope with these problems. The small reformist National Party has given the ruling party stiff competition in some local elections and may be successful in a few contests on the state level, but no significant challenge to the present administration is foreseen.

ELECTIONS				
Presidential		July 1976	President	6-year term
Congressional	Senate	July 1976	All seats	6-year term
	House of Deputies	July 1973	All seats	3-year term
Local and Gubernatorial	(Vary accord- ing to state laws)			

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CONFIDENTIAL**NICARAGUA****Facts About the 6 February Constituent
Assembly & Municipal Election Results**

Eligible voters	950,000*
Registered voters	970,000
Participants	709,068 (73% of registered voters)

Results:

	Total Votes	Percent**	Municipal Govts
Nationalist Liberal Party	534,171	75.4	126
Traditionalist Conservative Party	174,897	24.6	0
Total	709,068	100.0	126

**It is estimated that 950,000 is the maximum number of persons 18 years old and over. Therefore, the voter rolls were probably inflated by perhaps 100,000 multiple registrations.*

***By a pre-electoral agreement between the two parties, the winner will hold 60 percent of the seats in the Constituent Assembly and the loser 40 percent, regardless of the actual vote distribution. The winner will also name two members of the interim troika executive and the loser will name one.*

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CONFIDENTIAL**NICARAGUA**

The first general elections under the new or revised constitution, which will be prepared by the recently elected constituent assembly, are scheduled for 1974. The constituent assembly is part of a pact between President Anastasio Somoza and opposition leader Fernando Aguero, providing for a 30-month interim government following the end of Somoza's five-year term on 1 May 1972, during which the government will be headed by a troika executive (two liberals and one conservative). The constituent assembly will act as a congress. In addition to revisions to the constitution, the interim government is intended to produce a more accurate registration system for voters. Because of outgoing President Somoza's stated intention to run again in 1974, one of the major issues at that time will undoubtedly be the continued domination of political life by the Somoza family.

Other issues will center on his record as President. Somoza's development program has been handicapped, at least in part by unfavorable world market conditions, but most observers agree that he has worked diligently to develop the country economically and to improve health and educational facilities and general living conditions. He has accomplished much in these fields and, in addition, has maintained order with a minimum of repression.

Barring unforeseen developments, Somoza could probably win a free election with little difficulty. He is personally popular, his Nationalist Liberal Party is well organized, and the opposition is divided, weak, and discredited.

The Traditionalist Conservative Party is at present the only recognized opposition party. If legal status—and therefore normal political participation—continues to be denied other parties, they may become increasingly violent in their opposition.

Suffrage extends to citizens under 18 who are graduates of an academic high school, to married and literate citizens 18 and over, and to all citizens 21 and older.

ELECTIONS				
Presidential		September 1974	President and vice president	5-year term
Congressional	Senate	September 1974	All 18 seats	5-year term
	Chamber of Deputies	September 1974	All 54 seats	5-year term
Local		September 1977	All 126 municipal governments	5-year term

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CONFIDENTIAL**PANAMA**

On 11 October 1968, only days after his inauguration, President Arias was overthrown by a military coup. Since then the country has been under the control of General Omar Torrijos, who made himself commandant of the National Guard and established a Provisional Junta Government with a figurehead president and a civilian cabinet. The myriad political parties—most of them dominated by the oligarchy—were dissolved, and only the Communist Party has been allowed to engage in political activity.

Although elections have frequently been promised, it was not until this past October that Torrijos seriously began to consider regularizing the government. A 25-member commission has been appointed to amend the 1946 constitution. On 6 August 1972, voters in each of Panama's 514 local precincts will elect a representative to the National Assembly. The new assembly, 11 times larger than the pre-1968 assembly and heavily weighted in favor of the rural areas easily controlled by the government, will approve the draft constitution and elect a president and vice president. It is not known when the assembly will convene or when the presidential vote will take place. By this device the junta government will transform itself into a constitutional government.

The Torrijos regime may organize an official political front for the forthcoming elections, but traditional political parties will not be permitted to participate. The people will be exhorted to elect candidates picked by the government. The only issue will be support of the "revolution" and its leader, General Torrijos. The regime will call for a demonstration of opposition to the former oligarchy-dominated political system and approval for Torrijos' domestic reform program and his position in the canal negotiations with the US. The 1946 Constitution extended suffrage to all Panamanians 21 years of age and older.

Past election statistics are no longer relevant in Panama.

ELECTIONS			
Presidential	Date Unknown	President and vice president to be chosen by the National Assembly	
Congressional	National Assembly	August 1972	514 delegates

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CONFIDENTIAL**PARAGUAY ELECTIONS**

Presidential		February 1973	President	5-year term
Congressional	Senate	February 1973	All 30 seats	5-year term
	Chamber of Deputies	February 1973	All 60 seats	5-year term
Local	Municipal councils	October 1975	All 153 seats	5-year term

1970 Municipal Election Results

Party	Votes	Percent
Colorado	420,790	78.8
Liberal	---	---
Febrerista	---	---
Radical Liberal	100,597	18.8
Blank/Voided	12,816	2.4
Total	534,000 (approx.)	100.0

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CONFIDENTIAL**PARAGUAY**

The Paraguayan political scene is dominated by President Alfredo Stroessner. He took power in May 1954, when, as commander of the armed forces, he led an alliance between the army and a faction of the Colorado Party in a bloodless coup against a Colorado president. Stroessner was elected in July 1954 to finish the presidential term and then was re-elected for full terms in 1958, 1963, and 1968. As a result of changes incorporated in the 1967 constitution, Stroessner is eligible for another term in 1973. He is expected to win easily. The President rules through his control of two organizations—the military and the Colorado Party.

Stroessner is commander in chief of the armed forces and makes all important decisions regarding the military. He also controls the country's largest political party, the ruling National Republican Association (Colorado Party). It is a non-ideological, mass-based organization that considers itself the only political group qualified to govern. The party is well organized and about 70 percent of the country's voters are registered as Colorados.

The Radical Liberal Party is the strongest of the opposition parties. It holds nine of the ten minority seats in the Senate and 16 of the 20 minority seats in the Chamber of Deputies. The Liberal Party, the traditional foe of the Colorados, governed from 1904 until 1940 except for an 18-month period in 1936-37. During the Stroessner era, however, it has been reduced to a carefully controlled and largely ineffectual opposition. Two other minuscule groups, the Revolutionary Febrerista Party and the Christian Democratic Party, exist more in name than in fact.

Although Stroessner probably would win an honest election by a comfortable margin, recent contests have been marked by extensive electoral fraud. This was especially true of the municipal elections in 1970, in which the Colorados received 78.9 percent of the vote. The most important result of these elections was to convince the opposition that the Colorados do not intend to allow it any significantly greater participation in Paraguayan political life.

Voting is obligatory for all citizens between the ages of 18 and 60, with certain exceptions. The police, members of the armed forces of the rank of sergeant or below, prisoners, and the insane are prohibited from voting, and anyone living more than 12.5 miles from a voting place may abstain. After the age of 60 voting is voluntary.

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CONFIDENTIAL**TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO**
Election Results

Party	1961	Election Year	
		November 1966	May 1971
People's National Movement (PNM)	----	157,864	----
	58%	52.3%	83.7%
	20 Seats	24 Seats	36 Seats
Democratic Labor Party (DLP)	----	102,653	Boycotted Election
	41%	34.0%	
	10 Seats	12 Seats	
Liberal Party	----	26,997	----
		8.9%	

Workers and Farmers Party	----	10,512	----
		3.5%	

Independent or Others	----	3,800	16.3%
		1.3%	

Eligible Voters - Figures unavailable

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CONFIDENTIAL**TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO**

The two major parties in Trinidad and Tobago are Prime Minister Eric Williams' People's National Movement (PNM) and the opposition Democratic Labor Party (DLP). The PNM membership is predominantly Negro, and the DLP draws the majority of its support from East Indians. The DLP is badly factionalized and essentially ineffective at present. Before the May 1971 elections it entered a coalition called the Action Committee of Dedicated Citizens/Democratic Labor Party. The coalition, however, boycotted the election and the PNM—facing only minor opposition groups—easily won all 36 seats.

Prime Minister Williams dominates both the nation and his party. He has tried to improve living conditions in rural East Indian villages and to allay Indian fears of Negro domination and repression. At the present rate of population growth, the more prolific East Indian minority will outnumber the Negroes before the end of the 1970s. The political and social problems involved in this shift could bring about a more violent style of politics. In October 1971, Williams declared a state of emergency as a result of labor unrest which had some racial overtones. The state of emergency is scheduled to last until June 1972.

ELECTIONS

House of Assembly (Prime Minister is the leader of the majority party)	Elections must be held by 1976 or earlier if the gov- ernment loses a vote of confidence or calls for a new election	36 members	5-year term
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CONFIDENTIAL**URUGUAY****November 1971 Election Results**

Eligible voters 1,800,000

Total of votes 1,664,119

Percent of voting 92.2%

Party	Votes Cast	Percent Pop. Vote	Seats Won	Deputies
Colorado	691,624	41.0	13	41
Blanco	668,822	40.2	12	40
Frente Amplio (Christian Democrats, Fidel, Socialists, and others)	304,275	18.3	5	18
Radical Christian Union	8,844	0.5	---	---
Others	554	---	---	---

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CONFIDENTIAL**URUGUAY**

Uruguayan politics have been dominated by two major parties—the Blancos and the Colorados—for more than a century. A sophisticated political system and complex democratic institutions have developed. Uruguay has achieved a high degree of political stability, but the system has led to indecisive and inefficient government.

The most unusual feature of Uruguayan elections is the complex electoral law, expressly designed to safeguard the existence of the two major parties by enabling each of them to maintain a certain degree of unity in spite of internal discord. This is the lema law, under which factions within a party may run their own lists of candidates. Voters cast ballots for party and faction and the votes for the lists are then combined to determine the winning party. The candidate within that party with the highest vote total becomes the next president. In effect, the system combines a primary with a general election. In addition, the law provides not only for the proportional representation of political parties in the legislature, but also for proportional representation of the factions within each party on the basis of their share of the party vote.

The lema law, however, has encouraged political fragmentation and has permitted politicians representing the entire range of political opinions to run under the banner of either major party. The system has preserved the widely divergent factions within the major parties and in effect has institutionalized them. Alliances between factions are formed at election time, but cooperation rarely survives the election.

By favoring the two major parties, the system undermines the growth of splinter parties such as the Communists, Socialists, Christian Democrats, and other minor political groupings. Prior to the 1971 elections, however, the *Frente Amplio* (Broad Front) emerged as a leftist coalition of Communists, Christian Democrats, Socialists, Independents, the Revolutionary Movement of Uruguay, and several renegade factions from the Blancos and Colorados. The Communist Party had favored a front strategy since the mid-1950s but had failed in its courting of possible coalition partners until Marxist Salvador Allende's victory in Chile through the united-front strategy inspired Uruguayan leftists to come together. Although the Frente received only 18 percent of the vote, leftist leaders have overcome their initial disappointment and seem ready to maintain the Frente instead of letting it lapse, as coalitions so often do in Latin America. Five more years of urban

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terrorism, political sniping, and runaway inflation could make the Frente an attractive alternative in 1976.

All Uruguayans 18 years of age or over, except criminals, subversives, and mental incompetents, are eligible to vote. Voters receive an identification booklet containing their photograph, physical description, and fingerprints. The constitution declares voting to be obligatory, but this requirement has never been enforced.

URUGUAY ELECTIONS

Presidential		November 1976	President and vice president	5-year term
Congressional	Senate	November 1976	All 30 seats	5-year term
	Chamber of Deputies	November 1976	All 99 seats	5-year term
Local	Departmental Boards	November 1976	32 members in each 19 departments	5-year term

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CONFIDENTIAL**VENEZUELA**

The Christian Democratic Party (Copei) and Democratic Action (AD) still stand out as the two major forces in Venezuela's multi-party system. The next president is likely to be from one of them. Like the incumbent Copei administration, the next government probably will need the co-operation of a rival party to pass legislation and to implement policy. The legislature has become increasingly independent and powerful, and the competition for congressional seats will be stiff.

Copei and AD, as the "establishment" parties, will be more seriously challenged by the lesser groups than in the past. Continuing high unemployment and the general failure of these two reformist parties to undo social and economic injustices have bred a growing disillusionment with the electoral system and the effectiveness of democratic institutions. The democratic leftist parties, the People's Electoral Movement (MEP) and the Democratic Republican Union (URD), have joined in the New Force or Popular Nationalist Front, pinning their hopes on the radicalization of nationalist trends, following the example of Allende's Popular Unity coalition in Chile.

MEP reversed its earlier opposition to the Communists, who have been welcomed into the New Force. The New Force program is socialist and nationalist, patterned after the Peruvian regime, and its line is increasingly anti-US. There is a good chance that the coalition will split over the issue of a presidential candidate. A sizable portion of the New Force could defect to support Jose Vicente Rangel, an independent leftist deputy and presidential choice of the Movement to Socialism (MAS). MAS is a dynamic nationalist group of Communists that split from the Soviet-instructed Venezuelan Communist Party in 1970.

The most important question on the Venezuelan electoral scene is how much strength former dictator Marcos Perez Jimenez can command. His Nationalist Civic Crusade party (CCN) pulled the surprise of 1968 by securing 11 percent of the vote, and polls taken in 1971 indicated that Perez' popularity was on the rise. Without Perez' return to Venezuela from exile, however, his support seems likely to be scattered among the myriad small parties that back him.

Another major question is whether Romulo Betancourt, twice president and still revered, will return to be AD's candidate. Should he decide to run, he would almost certainly win.

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CONFIDENTIAL**VENEZUELA****December 1968 Election Results**

Eligible voters	4,240,000
Registered voters	4,068,481 (96%)
Valid votes	3,723,710 (91% of registered)

Party	Presidential % Vote	Congressional Vote %
Christian Democratic (Copei)	29	24
Democratic Action (AD)	28	26
Leftist Coalition	22	
Democratic Republican Union (URD)		9
Popular Democratic Force (FDP)		5
Democratic National Front (FND)		3
Peoples Electoral Movement (MEP)	19	13
Nationalist Civic Crusade		11
Other	2	9

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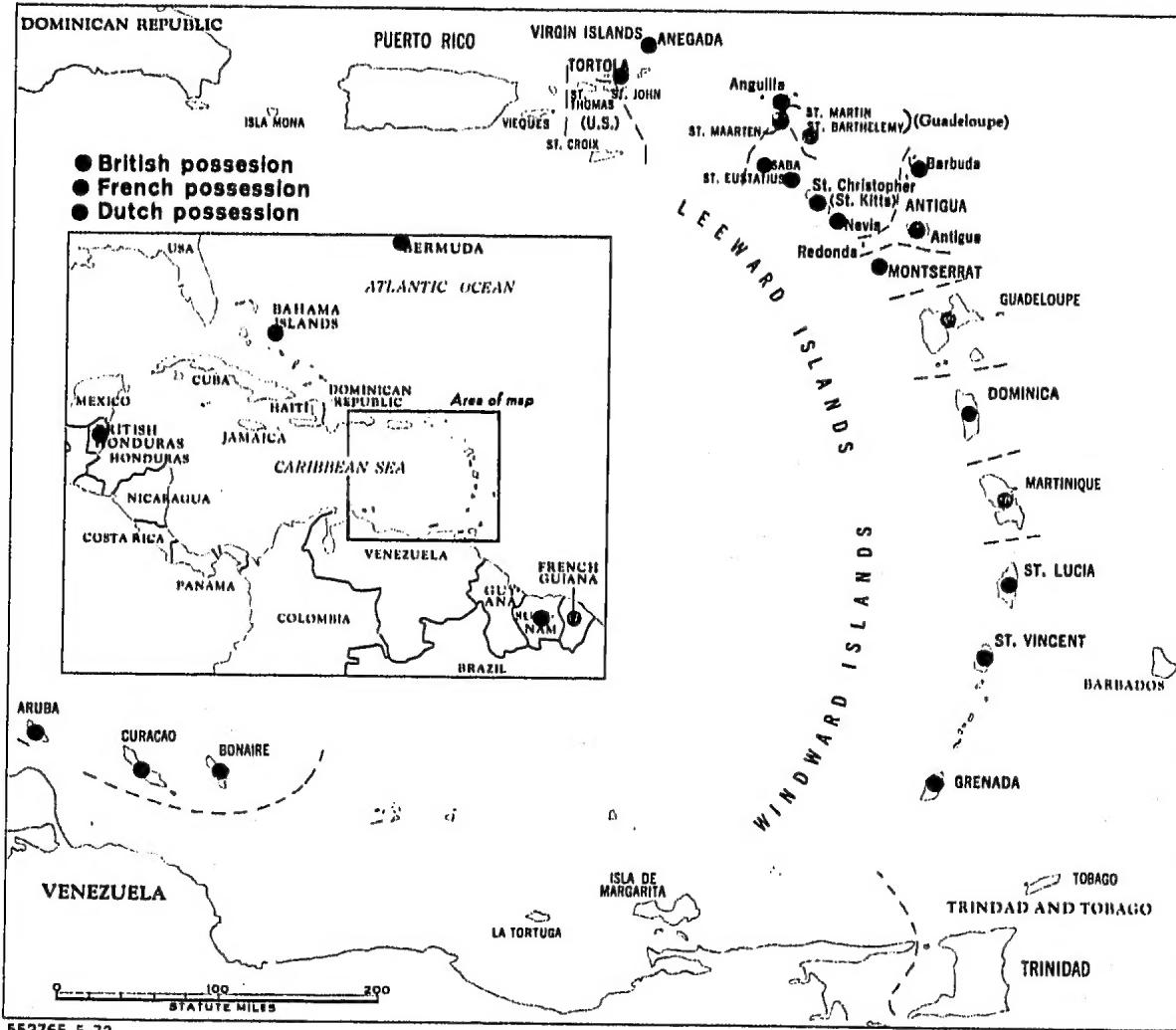
The constitution makes voting compulsory for all men and women over 18, except criminals and the active military. Elections are held every five years. The president is elected by a simple plurality of votes cast, while the two houses of congress are filled by proportional representation. Elections at all levels are held under national direction. The fixed congressional seats include two senators for each state and the federal district, and deputies on the basis of one for each 50,000 people (except for federal territories, which are allotted one deputy each). Additional seats are distributed through a "national quotient," which enables parties with insufficient strength to win a fixed seat to gain some representation on the basis of their relative national strength. The national quotient is obtained by dividing the total number of fixed seats assigned to a chamber into the total national vote. The total national vote of each party is then divided by the national quotient. The result is the total number of seats each party may occupy in the chamber concerned. If, for instance, a party is entitled to 19 seats on the basis of its national strength but elects only 16 deputies on a state-by-state basis, that party is then given three additional seats. No party may receive more than six additional seats in the chamber or over four in the senate in this manner. As a result of the November 1971 census, the number of fixed deputy seats will probably be larger for the 1973 elections.

VENEZUELA ELECTIONS

Presidential		December 1973	President	5-year term
Congressional	Senate	December 1973	All 45 seats	5-year term
	Chamber of Deputies	December 1973	All 177 seats	5-year term
Local		December 1973	State legislators and municipal authorities. State governor appointed.	5-year term

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